duties of patients, these were not the predominant traits of either his professional or personal character. Of the many poignant and fascinating observations and comments he made about his calamitous and most extraordinary career there is one which is perhaps more characteristic. At the end of the account of his life as a physician in Philadelphia, and after the expected peroration on the many opportunities offered to him by his calling to serve in the land of liberty and glory, he concluded on this prosaic note:

> However trifling it may appear, I cannot help adding an acknowledgement of the good providence of God in having preserved me from falls in climbing and descending stairs, and from insults in the streets in the most lonely places and at all hours of the night, during the course of one and thirty years.[146]

The Ideal Physician

Despite scholarly rumours to the contrary, the figure of Hippocrates was alive and well in the medical world of the Enlightenment, as we already had occasion to notice. Recreated in the image of the ideal physician by successive generations of medical men, he served as an important conduit in the transmission of Scottish medical ideas to Philadelphia. Undoubtedly one of the most colourful, if not fanciful, depictions of 'the illustrious father of the healing art', Rush's Hippocrates conveniently embodied all the virtues its creator needed to promote his particular theoretical and moral reforms. A semi-divine, patriarchal figure, his external characteristics mirrored his exemplary moral character. He was 'mild in his appearance and dignified in his deportment with gray hairs loosely flowing over his shoulders'.[147]

In two lectures from the first decade of the nineteenth century, Rush exhorted his students to examine the works of Hippocrates, not as undiscriminating worshippers, but critically as scientists. For the Greek was fallible like any teacher, as he himself had found, but with his scientific attitude and his unsurpassed moral character, Hippocrates would disclose to the student of medicine an exemplar of the modern scientific physician and, not least, 'the earliest and most prominent example' of the sympathetic physician.[148] His criterion for a person's suitability for the medical profession was, as reported by Galen, 'Does he suffer ... with the suffering of others? Does he naturally feel the tenderest commiseration for the woes incident to his fellow mortals?'[149] In addition to the 'noble sympathy', a 'heaven-born principle', Hippocrates had other virtues

Материал, защищенный авторским правом

which Rush could hold to celebrate the role that American physicians could play in the creation of a new country. Patriotism, though not an obvious medical virtue, was necessary for Rush's expansion of the duties of his profession to encompass every aspect, physical and moral, of social life. Hippocrates had afterall saved his country from the plague and demonstrated his attachment to the independence, peace and liberty of his native Cos.[150]

As the ideal physician, Hippocrates lacked only one thing, the Christian religion, and that could be added from other, more recent sources. For like Gregory and Percival, Rush portrayed the ideal physician as a Christian gentleman as well as a scientist. Like them too, he eschewed the professional ethos of the ancient guild in favour of one which more adequately reflected the goals of the new inductive science. He castigated professional or 'interested' men who failed to contribute to the advancement of medicine. He reminded his students, for example, that while the study of chemistry was in the hands of physicians, it was 'limited in its objects and nearly destitute of principles'. It was only in the laboratories of private gentlemen-scientists such as Priestley, Cavendish and Lavoisier that those great discoveries occurred which 'exalted chemistry to its present rank of usefulness'. It was not the empiric, or mechanic, let alone the physician practising medicine as a trade, but rather Bacon's 'speculative men of general knowledge', who could raise any intellectual endeavour, including medicine, to the level of a science.[151]

For Rush, as for most Edinburgh-trained physicians, the guild represented exclusive privileges and restriction on freedom of inquiry, both of which were anathema to the enlightened man of science. As he noted in an introductory lecture delivered in 1801,

> Conferring exclusive privileges upon bodies of physicians, and forbidding men, of equal talents and knowledge, under severe penalties, from practicing medicine within certain districts of cities and countries ... however sanctioned by ancient charters and names, are the bastiles [*sic*] of our science.[152]

The once-fashionable figure of the physician as coffee-house wit had no place in the new profession and reminded his students, as Percival and Gregory had also done, that 'singularity' of any sort was professionally unattractive.

> The profane and indelicate combination of extravagant ideas, improperly called wit, and the formal and pompous manner, whether accompanied by a wig, a cane, or a ring, should be all

Материал, защищенный авторским правом

> avoided, as incompatible with the simplicity of science and the real dignity of physic.[153]

The simplicity of science, which Bacon had impressed on all his faithful followers, was an ideal Rush embraced at the cost of alienating many of his Philadelphian colleagues.[154] For many other contemporary physicians, the acknowledgement that science was 'simple' was translated into a call for clarity in speech and writing, for more appropriate and modest dress in keeping with this quality, and for increased simplicity in prescribing medicines. It was neither fashionable nor prudent, for example, for a physician to prescribe too many mixtures of medicines, for this recalled the derided alchemical brews of pre-scientific times and could not, moreover, be scrutinized for its efficacy. While Rush enthusiastically adopted and encouraged all these practices, he also, as he so often did, carried the idea to its logical conclusion. If science was simple and medicine was a science, then medicine must also be simple. It was, indeed, so simple that a medical student could very quickly learn everything he needed to know in order to practise. As he wrote in his autobiography,

> Other things contributed to offend my medical brethren ... I had declared medicine to be a science so simple that two years study, instead of five or more, were sufficient to understand all that was true and practical in it. I had rejected a great number of medicines as useless, and had limited the *materia medica* to 15 or 20 articles, and in order to strip medicine still further of its imposture I had borne testimony against enveloping it in mystery or secrecy by Latin prescriptions, and by publishing inaugural dissertations in the Latin language in the medical school of Philadelphia.[155]

Medicine practised according to established principles was not only what made it simple but what distinguished it as a science. For Rush, as for Gregory and Percival, the ideal physician had to apply principles to the facts discovered in the course of his practice. As he warned his students, 'observation without principles is nothing but empiricism',

> and however much the contradictions and uncertainty of theories may be complained of, I believe much greater uncertainty and contradictions will be found in the controversies among physicians concerning what are said to be facts, and that too upon subjects in which the senses alone are employed to judge between truth and error. It is by means of principles in medicine, that a physician can practise with safety to his patients, and satisfaction to himself. They impart caution and boldness alternately to his prescriptions, and supply the want of experience

Материал, защищенный авторским правом

> in all new cases. Between such a physician, and the man who relies exclusively upon experience, there is the same difference that there was between sir Isaac Newton, after he completed his discoveries in light and colours, and the artist who manufactured the glasses, by which that illustrious philosopher exemplified his principles in optics.[156]

Rush believed that his unitary theory of medicine was not only the most suitable medicine for the American people, but one which would most effectively 'lay medicine open' to the literate public. Rejecting the complicated nosological system of his teacher, Cullen, Rush suggested that his 'twenty or thirty articles, aided by the common resources of the lancet, a garden, a kitchen, fresh air, cool water, and exercise, will be sufficient to cure all diseases that are at present under the power of medicine'. Physicians would at long last be able to reverse the dreadful sentence laid upon them by Hippocrates. Medicine was no longer an *ars longa* to render *vita brevis*, as Hudibras had chided, for Rush had delivered an *ars brevis* to secure *vita longa*.[157]

As an American patriot and 'commonwealthman', Rush's ideal physician lived on the land, where his passions were presumably tempered by the rural air, and where his time, apart from his patients, was spent in honest toil. He served his country by applying his knowledge of the natural sciences to improvements in agriculture, and he tirelessly explored the 'untrodden fields and forests of the United States', in search of medicinal plants that might yield a cure for diseases 'which still eluded the power of medicine'.[158] Freed by the American Revolution from his slavish past, he did not, like many earlier physicians, 'distain an ignoble silence upon public subjects'.[159] And as he was proud to note, 'some of the most intelligent and useful characters, both in the cabinet and the field during the late wars, have been physicians'.[160]

Notes

1. Rush can to some extent be added to Charles Camic's list of Enlightenment figures for whom the early loss of fathers was the first of several escape routes from Calvinist 'particularism and dependency' into 'universalism and independency', but, like so many others, he never completed that journey. Charles Camic, *Experience and Enlightenment: Socialization for Cultural Change in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1983.
2. For an account of Rush's religious education, see Donald J. D'Elia, 'Benjamin Rush: Philosopher of the American Revolution', in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 64, Part 5

Материал, защищенный авторским правом

(Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society Transactions, 1974). Hereafter referred to as D'Elia, *Rush*.

3. D'Elia, *Rush*, p. 10.
4. Samuel Finley D.D. also served as president of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University), 1761. See *The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush*, ed. George W. Corner, Princeton, NJ, 1948, p. 26, n. 11.
5. Rush, *Autobiography*, p. 32. Rush discusses his early education, pp. 28–34.
6. D'Elia, *Rush*, pp. 15–17.
7. D'Elia, *ibid.*, p. 16.
8. D'Elia, *ibid.*, p. 17. Samuel Davies' message to the graduating class of 1760 was 'Serve your Generation. Live not for yourselves, but the Publick. Be the Servants of the Church; the Servants of your Country; the Servants of all.' Quoted in M. Noll, *Princeton and the Republic, 1768–1822*, Princeton, NJ, 1989, p. 21.
9. Noll, *Princeton*, p. 21. See also Douglas Sloan, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the American College Ideal*, New York, NY, 1971, pp. 185–224.
10. *Letters of Benjamin Rush*, ed. L.H. Butterfield, 2 vols, Princeton, NJ, 1951, Vol. II, p. 863, hereafter referred to as Rush, *Letters*. In his Introduction, Butterfield observed that in Rush's half-century as a physician and professor in Philadelphia, 'little of interest occurred there that he did not know about, look into and record'. Butterfield also claimed that the Rush MSS, deposited at the Library Company of Philadelphia, probably constitute the most comprehensive body of records for an eighteenth-century medical practitioner and teacher's career that exists in the world; p. lxiii.
11. Rush, *Autobiography*, p. 36.
12. Contemporary advice literature contained many perorations on the immorality of life in the law. In 1760 Cadwallader Colden, a New York physician, gave his son the typical warning that there is no rogue or villain (if he have money) who cannot find a lawyer to defend him, and to endeavour knowingly to pervert or at least delay justice. *American Philosophical Addresses 1700–1900*, ed. Joseph L. Blau, New York, NY, 1947, p. 293.
13. Rush, *Autobiography*, p. 38.
14. See Rush, *Letters*, p. 49. On being offered the position, Rush assured Morgan that he was now 'a master of the science and could teach it with confidence and ease'.
15. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 3.
16. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 4.
17. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 29.
18. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 41.
19. Rush, *Essays Literary, Moral and Philosophical*, ed. Michael Meranze, Schenectady, NY, 1988, pp. 206–7. Hereafter referred to as Rush, *Essays*.

Материал, защищенный авторским правом

20. See, for example, A.L. Donovan, *Philosophical Chemistry in the Scottish Enlightenment*, Edinburgh, 1975, p. 129, and Christopher Lawrence, 'Medicine as Culture: Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment', University of London, Ph.D., 1984.
21. See Christopher Lawrence's study of Cullen in 'Medicine as Culture', ch. 8.
22. J. Charles Robertson, 'A Bacon-Facing Generation: Scottish Philosophy in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, XIV (1976), p. 40. See also: Paul Wood, 'The Natural History of Man in the Scottish Enlightenment', *History of Science*, XXVII (1989), pp. 85–96.
23. Rush's eulogies of Cullen and other men of learning served the same purpose as those of the British Dissenters. They were vehicles of reform written to portray the ideal scientist.
24. Rush, *Essays*, pp. 200–1.
25. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 200.
26. Rush, *ibid.*, pp. 200–1.
27. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 199.
28. Rush, *Letters*, pp. 60–1.
29. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 51.
30. For a detailed comparison of the medical teaching of Gregory and Cullen, see Christopher Lawrence, 'Medicine as Culture', ch 7–8.
31. D'Elia points out that the first American text in chemistry, Rush's *Syllabus of a Course of Lectures on Chemistry* (1770) was based on Black's system. See D'Elia, *Rush*, p. 21.
32. See Rush, *Autobiography*, pp. 116–17.
33. Rush's manuscript 'Scottish Journal' (University of Indiana Library) quoted in D'Elia, *Rush*, pp. 29 and 31.
34. Rush, *Letters*, p. 524.
35. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 37. Cf. Rush, *Autobiography*, pp. 50–1.
36. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 38.
37. Quoted in C. Binger, *Revolutionary Doctor*, New York, 1966, p. 41.
38. Quoted in D'Elia, *Philosopher*, p. 35.
39. Rush, *Autobiography*, pp. 52–5.
40. Rush, *ibid.*, pp. 59–62.
41. For an account of Macaulay's circle and Rush's role in it, see Bridget Hill, *The Republican Virago*, Oxford, 1992.
42. Rush, *ibid.*, pp. 66 and 74.
43. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 69.
44. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 69, note. For a comparative account of late eighteenth-century British and French hospitals, see Guenter Risse, *Hospital Life in Enlightenment Scotland*, pp. 279–95.
45. Rush, *Autobiography*, p. 73.
46. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 77 and note 92.
47. Rush, *Letters*, p. 29.
48. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 1038.

Материал, защищенный авторским правом

49. According to Rush, Jenner's vaccine initiated 'a new era in the medical history of man'. He looked forward to a similar solution for the plague or yellow-fever epidemics. See Rush, *Letters*, pp. 840 and 844–6.
50. Rush was an anti-contagionist who campaigned vigorously for the removal of legislation affecting the freedom of movement of individuals and restrictions of trade caused by quarantine.
51. Rush, *Autobiography*, p. 87.
52. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 89. Rush readily admitted that he had adopted some of the terms of Dr Brown's system, in the 'new nomenclature' of his own system, but he insisted that many of his opinions were original and recorded in his publications long before John Brown was even known in America.
53. Butterfield, Introduction, in Rush, *Letters*, p. lxviii.
54. According to Butterfield, Rush was so closely associated with the composition of *Common Sense* that friends such as John Adams and Charles Lee thought he was the author. He did not claim the title, Butterfield notes, but 'he justly considered himself the midwife' of this famous pamphlet. See Rush, *Letters*, p. 96, note 4.
55. Rush, *Letters*, p. 855.
56. *American Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 16, p. 230. For an interesting account of this affair, see Appendix III, 'The Rush–Cobbett Feud' in Rush, *Letters*, p. 1217. Concerning Cobbett's political career in Philadelphia, see William Cobbett, *Peter Porcupine in America: Pamphlets on Republicanism and Revolution*, ed. and introd. by David A. Wilson, Ithaca, NY, 1994.
57. Rush, *Letters*, p. lxi.
58. Rush, *ibid.*, p. lxi.
59. David Ramsay, *An Eulogium upon Benjamin Rush M.D.*, Philadelphia, PA, 1813, p. 129.
60. *Observations* was published in Philadelphia in 1789; the *Sixteen Introductory Lectures* (hereafter referred to as S.I.L) was published in the same place in 1811, two years before he died. Like the medical ethics of Gregory and Percival these lectures were intended for a general audience as well as for medical students. The titles of the sixteen are as follows:
    1. On the necessary connexion between observation and reasoning in medicine.
    2. On the character of Dr Sydenham.
    3. On the causes of death in diseases, that are not incurable.
    4. On the influence of physical causes, in promoting the strength and activity of the intellectual faculties of man.
    5. On the vices and virtues of physicians.
    6. On the causes which have retarded the progress of medicine, and on the means of promoting its certainty, and greater usefulness.

Материал, защищенный авторским правом

7. On the education proper to qualify a young man for the study of medicine.
8. On the construction and management of hospitals.
9. On the pains and pleasures of a medical life.
10. On the means of acquiring business, and the causes which prevent the acquisition, and occasion the loss of it, in the profession of medicine.
11. On the utility of a knowledge of the faculties and operations of the human mind, to a physician.
12. On the opinions and modes of practice of Hippocrates.
13. On the duty and advantages of studying the diseases of domestic animals, and the remedies proper to remove them.
14. On the duties of patients to their physicians.
15. On the means of acquiring knowledge.
16. On the study of medical jurisprudence.
    Two Lectures upon the pleasures of the senses and of the mind; with an inquiry into their proximate cause.

61. William Cullen, quoted by John Wright in 'Metaphysics and Physiology: Mind, Body, and the Animal Economy in Eighteenth Century Scotland', in M.A. Stewart (ed.), *Studies in the Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Oxford, 1990), p. 251.
62. Roy Porter gives an entertaining general account of this development in his *Mind-Forg'd Manacles*, pp. 176–228. Rush's analysis of sympathy, like Gregory's, had its basis in the Scottish medical view of the relationship between the mind and the body. There is a comprehensive account of the eighteenth-century physiology of sympathy in L.J. Rather, *Mind and Body in Eighteenth-Century Medicine: A Study Based on Jerome Gaub's* De regimine mentis, London, 1965.
63. According to Christopher Lawrence, Cullen 'limited' the term to mean those diseases without fever and involving the whole nervous system. For an account of Cullen's nosology and his doctrine of nerves, see Christopher Lawrence, 'Medicine as Culture', p. 265.
64. Porter, *Mind-Forg'd Manacles*, p. 178.
65. Porter, *ibid.*, p. 179.
66. Porter, *ibid.*, p. 179.
67. Carleton, Introduction, in Rush, *Lectures on the Mind*, p. 27.
68. Porter, *Mind-Forg'd Manacles*, ch. 4.
69. Porter, *ibid.*, pp. 181–2.
70. For a contemporary account of Rush's theory of medicine, see: John T. Rees, *Remarks on the Medical Theories of Brown, Cullen, Darwin and Rush*, Philadelphia, PA, 1805, p. 67. See also Ramsay, *An Eulogium.*
71. Rush, *Letters*, pp. 584–5, note 1.
72. *American Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 16, p. 229.
73. *Ibid.*, Vol. 16, p. 229.

Материал, защищенный авторским правом